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Guide to the Published Archives Of Pennsylvania

*By Henry Howard Eddy
and Martha L. Simonetti*



PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL
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GUIDE TO

*The Published Archives
of Pennsylvania*

COVERING THE 138 VOLUMES OF

Colonial Records
and
Pennsylvania Archives

SERIES I - IX

By HENRY HOWARD EDDY

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FOREWORD

It is not a unique inspiration which results in this *Guide to the Published Archives of Pennsylvania*. As early as 1893 and as late as 1929, Pennsylvania legislatures have provided for such a publication; at least two of Pennsylvania's librarians, in desperation, have compiled rudimentary indexes for their own reference desks; and several years since, while serving as State Archivist at Harrisburg, Dr. Curtis W. Garrison initiated the preparation of just such a guide. This booklet is designed to meet a need which has long been obvious.

Of necessity limitations have been placed upon the contents, and this *Guide* will not answer every question. Excepting for governors, generals, and the authors of journals and diaries, few names of individuals will be found listed. Such omission is deliberate, made in consideration of the fact that the twenty-five hundred pages of Volume XV of *Pennsylvania Archives*, Sixth Series, and the five volumes of the Seventh Series together index well over a million names of early Pennsylvanians; sufficient unto the names contained in the *Pennsylvania Archives* are these indexes in the Sixth and Seventh Series thereof. Persons searching for the name of an individual, for other specific but minute items, or for mere passing references, will find that this volume will serve as a starting point only. From its more general entries, notably from "Indexes," they can go on to the sometimes obscure but always more detailed listings which are to be found within the respective series. Unless an item totals several pages it is unlikely to appear in this *Guide*, for the inclusion of less bulky items would have required editorial exertion and printing expense beyond reason. The aim has been to provide handy but general reference, condensing for the sake of brevity and simplicity but making readily available the great number of important blocks of material which have too long remained obscure among the relatively uncharted reaches of the ten series.

Neither is the historical section of this *Guide* exhaustive in its treatment. The aim here has been to orient the investigator and to provide those significant facts which will enable him to evaluate properly such materials as he may select from one or another of the published series. To attain brevity and clarity in presenting this factual data, very little stress has been placed upon related archival developments at Washington and in other states. The result may be a certain lack of balance, for historical scholarship has never operated in a tower of ivory and no series of *Pennsylvania Archives* was in its origin a completely detached and unique phenomenon. Without doubt DuPonceau and Hazard were aware of the archival series which were being issued by their European contemporaries and of Peter Force's *American Archives* which began to appear in 1837. They could scarcely have remained ignorant of the work of Brodhead and of O'Callaghan in neighboring New York or of similar publication projects in other states of the union. During the

century from Force and O'Callaghan to Luther Evans and the Historical Records Survey, a variety of external forces have influenced the local archival activity of Pennsylvania, but in a brief presentation such general trends and extensive ramifications can receive but scant notice.

A very definite attempt has been made to attain detachment and fairness in presenting the story of the published archives. Satisfied with our present-day concept as to what deserves emphasis, moderns tend to manifest impatience with the differing interest, the seemingly more trivial and romantic facts and fashions of earlier days. Current prejudice almost inevitably colors our estimate of a generation of historians more concerned than we are with spectacular incident and military glory. It is hoped that such critical comment as is contained in this *Guide* may be expressed with fitting tolerance and humility even while fulfilling its essential purpose of providing honest guidance to modern searchers, for most of whom a primary interest in the development of documented studies treating themes of general economic and social significance can be assumed. Very possibly posterity will consider our interests, too, as somewhat quaint, and certainly we should avoid biased judgment.

Numerous persons have helped, in one way or another, with the preparation of this *Guide*. Even aside from the three alphabetical lists, Miss Martha Simonetti has assisted with many details. Mrs. Martha B. Curtis, like Miss Simonetti a member of the staff of the Division of Public Records, has aided by digging for elusive items and checking obscure points. Dr. Alfred D. Keator, State Librarian, and various members of his staff have been helpful. Dr. S. K. Stevens, State Historian, and Mr. Donald H. Kent, Associate State Historian, have lent encouragement, advice, and active assistance throughout. Dr. Marvin W. Schlegel, now of the faculty of the State Teachers College at Farmville, Virginia, but formerly of the staff of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, has generously assisted. To each of these the *Guide* owes a debt.

It is to be accepted as inevitable that in a booklet so crowded with detail as is this one, a certain number of errors will be found. Readers who identify slips can help the accuracy of any possible future reprinting by notifying the Division of Public Records at Harrisburg. Such assistance to the cause of truth and accuracy will be appreciated.

HENRY HOWARD EDDY.

Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.
August, 1949.

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COLONIAL RECORDS

and

PENNSYLVANIA ARCHIVES, Series I-IX

IN BRIEF SUMMARY

Excepting for the splendid series of six volumes entitled *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania*, a series begun by Benjamin Franklin in 1754 and terminated in 1776, publication of Pennsylvania's basic records began in 1838 with the first volume of *Colonial Records*. The latest to be issued was the tenth volume of the Ninth Series which came in 1935. In a span of almost exactly one hundred years, ten series, *Colonial Records* and *Pennsylvania Archives*, Series I-IX, have been issued to total 138 volumes.

The series bear a basic resemblance one to the other, but at two points there are minor peculiarities in terminology. It will be noted that throughout this discussion there occur references to "the ten series." The use of this term seems justified by the fact that *Colonial Records* contains important archival material of Pennsylvania and in fact raises the total to ten even though the books do not actually bear the title *Pennsylvania Archives*. Also to be noted is the fact that to call Hazard's work the "First Series" is not entirely correct. The term "Pennsylvania Archives" was first used when the Assembly authorized the series which Samuel Hazard came to edit during the 1850's, and very naturally Hazard's series was not originally known by any additional designation. Over twenty years later, the publication of supplementary material in additional volumes resulted in the title *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, and subsequently seven other series, each designated by a number, have come to be issued. Popular usage to the contrary notwithstanding, this numbering of later series does not make Hazard's the First Series in a strict sense, and occasionally learned footnotes will be found citing *Pennsylvania Archives* with no series designated. These may tend to confuse the searcher, but they refer to Hazard's compilation and are quite correct and proper.

To remember details regarding the dates of publication, editors, and general characteristics of these ten more or less separate series is not easy. Happily, certain of the series possess features in common, and series thus related can with logic be combined into half as many larger

units. The characteristics of five basic units can be retained in memory more easily, and the following condensed data will provide a handy guide among volumes otherwise confusing in their sheer bulk. In briefest summary, the five eras of archival publication in Pennsylvania may be set forth in this tabular form.

- I. THE INITIAL PERIOD OF PUBLICATION, 1838-1860, which produced in *Colonial Records* and Samuel Hazard's *Pennsylvania Archives* (later to be known as the First Series) twenty-eight volumes (plus an index volume issued in 1860) of important records, well edited, with a terminal date of 1790.
- II. THE DR. WILLIAM HENRY EGLE PERIOD, 1874-1899, which added the Second and Third Series of *Pennsylvania Archives*, a total of forty-five volumes (plus an important volume, or portfolio, of maps titled "Appendix, Third Series, I-IX" but otherwise unnumbered). These contain materials of widely varying degrees of importance, for the most part dating prior to 1815. In arrangement and quality of editing these series fail to reach the high standard set by Hazard.
- III. THE DR. GEORGE EDWARD REED PERIOD, 1899-1902. During a brief term of 45 months as State Librarian, Dr. Reed rounded off the Third Series by adding four volumes of index, XXVII-XXX, to cover the sixteen volumes immediately preceding. He issued, as well, the twelve volumes of the Fourth Series containing such papers of Pennsylvania's governors, 1681-1902, as he found readily accessible.
- IV. THE DR. THOMAS LYNCH MONTGOMERY PERIOD, 1903-1914, which brought forth the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Series, twenty-eight volumes made up chiefly of rosters, militia rolls, ships' lists, and lists of taxables and land warrantees. These are equipped with very full indexes and are of prime importance to genealogists.
- V. THE PERIOD OF THE 1930's, 1931-1935, which turned out, in the Eighth and Ninth Series, eighteen volumes of records important for historical research but, as yet, lacking indexes.

For purposes of quick reference as to the individual series, the following brief summaries, covering the ten series each in turn, in the order of their publication, may at times prove helpful:

- I. COLONIAL RECORDS: A total of sixteen volumes containing the minutes of the Provincial Council, 1683-1775, in Volumes I-X; those of the Council of Safety (and of the Committee of Safety), 1775-1777, in X and XI; and those of the Supreme Executive Council, 1777-1790, in XI-XVI. These were printed directly from the manuscript books with no editing apparent. Issued 1838-1853.

- II. PENNSYLVANIA ARCHIVES, later to be known as the First Series: These twelve volumes reproduce papers selected chiefly from the files at the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, printed in chronological order to parallel and supplement *Colonial Records*. The earliest materials are dated 1664 and the latest 1790. Well edited by Samuel Hazard and issued 1852-1856.
- III. PENNSYLVANIA ARCHIVES, *Second Series*: In its nineteen volumes this series contains varied and diverse materials; militia rolls and church records are prominent, but there are as well the minutes of the Board of War and those of the Navy Board, both of 1777, and much on the Wyoming Controversy with Connecticut and on the Whiskey Insurrection. Edited by John B. Linn and Dr. William Henry Egle through Volume XII, and by Dr. Egle alone for the remainder of the series. Issued 1874-1890.
- IV. PENNSYLVANIA ARCHIVES, *Third Series*: The first twenty-six volumes of this series resemble closely those of the Second Series, while the last four volumes consist of an index to the sixteen volumes immediately preceding. Filled for the most part with militia rolls and lists of land warrantees and taxables, this series does contain some materials of a more general nature, such as a discussion of Virginia's claims to western Pennsylvania, and an account of the Donation Lands. Edited by Dr. Egle (I-XXVI) with four index volumes edited by Dr. George Edward Reed. Issued 1894-1899.
- V. PENNSYLVANIA ARCHIVES, *Fourth Series*: In twelve volumes, this series collects the addresses, messages, proclamations, and a very few other Papers of Pennsylvania's Governors, 1681-1902, with brief biographies and portraits but with a minimum of documentation. Edited by Dr. George Edward Reed and issued 1900-1902.
- VI. PENNSYLVANIA ARCHIVES, *Fifth Series*: This series fills eight volumes with muster rolls and other military lists, chiefly of the provincial and revolutionary period, some reprinted with greater accuracy and neatness from the Second and Third Series, and certain of the others taken from sources outside official custody. Edited by Dr. Thomas Lynch Montgomery and issued in 1906.
- VII. PENNSYLVANIA ARCHIVES, *Sixth Series*: For fourteen volumes this series continues the printing of military rolls, covering chiefly the period from the Revolution to the War of 1812, including militia rolls for the years of peace, with some material as late as the Mexican War. There are also a few orderly books, military accounts for the 1812 period, and some papers non-military in nature, notably church records of marriages and baptisms, inventories of estates

confiscated during the Revolution, and scattering eighteenth-century election returns. The final volume, XV, bound in two thick parts, contains an index to the Fifth Series. Edited by Dr. Thomas Lynch Montgomery and issued 1905-1907.

- VIII. PENNSYLVANIA ARCHIVES, *Seventh Series*: The five volumes of this series consist exclusively of an index to the more than one million names found in the first fourteen volumes of the Sixth Series. The Seventh Series was intended to include in additional volumes the Executive Minutes which later were published as the Ninth Series, but publication halted with the death of L. R. Kelker, Custodian of Public Records, in 1915. Compiled by Kelker and his assistants in the Division of Public Records under the direction of Dr. Thomas Lynch Montgomery and issued in 1914.
- IX. PENNSYLVANIA ARCHIVES, *Eighth Series*: In eight volumes, this series reprints the eighteenth-century edition of *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania, 1682-1776*. The first five volumes bear the name of Gertrude MacKinney as editor, and the last three the name of Dr. Charles F. Hoban. Issued 1931-1935.
- X. PENNSYLVANIA ARCHIVES, *Ninth Series*: In ten volumes, this series prints the contents of fifteen manuscript volumes preserved in the Division of Public Records. These are Executive Minutes, a journal of official actions of Pennsylvania's Governors for the period 1790-1838. This series continues *Colonial Records* and supplements the Fourth Series for the effective period of the Constitution of 1790. Bears the name of Gertrude MacKinney as editor. Issued 1931-1935.

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NOTE

In the following lists, the abbreviation C. R. is used to indicate *Colonial Records*, and A(1), A(2), A(3), etc. to indicate the First, Second, Third, and following Series of *Pennsylvania Archives*. Thus an entry "C. R. V, 127" is to be read, "*Colonial Records*, Volume V, page 127," while "A(4) II, 408" is to be read, "*Pennsylvania Archives*, Fourth Series, Volume II, page 408."

The page numbers here cited follow the first printings, and in certain cases they will not match exactly the paging of volumes later reprinted. Near the end of a thick volume which has been reprinted in a type of differing size, the difference may be as great as 20 pages. In using reprinted volumes, searchers must allow for this progressive variation.

The Finding List makes no pretense to being a complete and inclusive index, but covers bulky items only. Investigators seeking more exact guidance than is here provided should consult the more specific finding mediums listed herein under the entry *Indexes*.

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HISTORY OF THE PUBLICATION OF COLONIAL RECORDS AND OF THE NINE SERIES OF PENNSYLVANIA ARCHIVES

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NOTE

For a brief summary of the contents and characteristics of *Colonial Records* and of the successive series, I through IX, of *Pennsylvania Archives*, the searcher is referred to pages 2 to 4 above. The sketches which follow merely expand that table with additional details and statistics.

Each of these sketches follows a definite pattern, a pattern designed to promote ready use for quick reference. In essence, the order is that of a news story:

1. A summary statement of the general characteristics of the particular group of volumes.
2. A brief analysis and evaluation of the contents of the group.
3. A discussion of the indexes available for the group.
4. A history of the publication of the group, with biographical notes on the editor or editors concerned.

The aim throughout is to provide such information as may aid a potential user of any particular series in estimating its value to his own problems of research.

I. THE INITIAL PERIOD OF PUBLICATION

Benjamin Franklin began the publication of records basic to Pennsylvania's history when, in 1754, he printed his fine edition of *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania*. The series started with the beginning of English rule in 1682 and subsequently was continued to cover to the end of that domination in 1776. More than sixty years later, in 1838, the publication of archival materials started again and before the beginning of the Civil War 28 volumes, with an additional volume of index, had been prepared and issued. The movement to publish, and thus by duplication to preserve, records needed to provide an understanding of the development of the Province and Commonwealth stemmed from a joint memorial addressed by the American Philosophical Society and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania to the Legislature in December, 1836. Peter S. DuPonceau, a scholarly Frenchman of Philadelphia, appears to have been the prime mover in activity which ultimately resulted in sixteen volumes of *Colonial Records* and twelve volumes of *Pennsylvania Archives*, plus an index volume. Samuel Hazard, a businessman who turned to historical writing in middle life, worked very competently from 1851 until 1860, selecting and editing from among the disordered masses of records which he found in the State offices at Harrisburg, turning them into printer's copy for his *Pennsylvania Archives* which subsequently became known as the First Series.

Nature of Contents

Colonial Records and Hazard's *Pennsylvania Archives* by intention and design parallel each other closely, covering the period 1664 to 1790. The title *Colonial Records* is conveniently short but somewhat misleading, since the series reaches well beyond the provincial period. This series consists exclusively of the executive minutes of the councils of Pennsylvania, Province and Commonwealth, to the formation of the Federal Union. *Colonial Records* appears on the back leathers and in usage only, and the title pages reflect the contents of the series with greater accuracy. Volumes I to X, "Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, from the Organization to the Termination of the Proprietary Government," contain materials dating 1682 to 1775. Volumes XI to XVI, "Minutes of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, from its Organization to the Termination of the Revolution,"

contain materials ranging from 1776 to the surprisingly late date of 1790. The series is arranged chronologically throughout, and this arrangement, in combination with a rigid uniformity imposed upon the size of the volumes, somewhat obscures the Minutes of the Council of Safety, June 30, 1775, to March 17, 1777, which begin in the second half of Volume X and continue into the first half of Volume XI. These same Minutes pick up again briefly in Volume XI, pages 323 to 353, for the period October 17 to December 6, 1777. The original sources for *Colonial Records*, bound manuscript volumes, are still preserved in the Division of Public Records at Harrisburg.

The nature of the materials printed by Hazard in his *Pennsylvania Archives* is less uniform and not to be briefly described. Being arranged chronologically, also, the *Archives* parallel and supplement the series of minutes published in *Colonial Records*, and cross reference by footnote is frequent. The early volumes contain most notably treaties with the Indians and Indian deeds, together with other papers of diverse types. Beginning in Volume IV and running through eight volumes is the correspondence file from the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth for the period July 6, 1775, to September 7, 1790. Some four hundred pages of the last volume, XII, contain papers out of their proper chronological sequence since, as Hazard quaintly expressed it, they were "discovered after the period to which they refer had been printed in the preceding volumes." Unfortunately, continued neglect and vandalism have created yawning gaps in the splendid old files, and but a fraction of the manuscript originals still survives in the Division of Public Records.

Indexing

Since both *Colonial Records* and Hazard's *Pennsylvania Archives* have strictly chronological arrangement, with frequent cross references inserted in the *Archives* and with indexing of a sort in each individual volume, for these series a general index is not essential. This self-sufficiency is most fortunate, for the one-volume *General Index to the Colonial Records, in 16 Volumes, and to Pennsylvania Archives, in 12 Volumes*, which Hazard prepared slightly later and published in 1860, is in quality much inferior to his earlier work. Separate indexes are provided, one for each of the two series, but neither is of great assistance to the investigator; the chronological arrangement and the volume-by-volume indexes and tables of contents are more generally satisfactory as finding mediums.

Colonial Records

The proposal to publish *Colonial Records* appears to have originated with Peter S. DuPonceau,¹ an energetic and erudite Frenchman who, aged seventeen, came to America in 1777 as secretary to Baron von Steuben. Following service with the Continental Army, he settled at Philadelphia and in the course of a long life made notable contributions to scholarship. By 1837 he had done so well during ten years as president of the American Philosophical Society that he was elected to serve simultaneously as president of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. A joint memorial from these societies, under date of December 8, 1836, very clearly was the starting point for *Colonial Records*. It bore but four signatures, but it carried the name of DuPonceau twice, as representative in turn of each of the organizations.²

This memorial addressed to the legislature was couched in scholarly terms, well-framed and persuasive. It pointed out that priceless manuscript records of the Colony and Commonwealth, in particular the Minutes of the Provincial Council and the series of treaties with the Indians, were being preserved under precarious conditions. The early publication of these documents was urged to assure their continued preservation. The suggestion met with favor and an act dated April 4, 1837,³ provided for the printing of the Minutes of the Provincial Council from 1681 to 1717, inclusive, in an edition of one thousand octavo volumes. Subsequent acts of 1838 and 1840⁴ provided for the continuation of the series and by the end of 1840 three volumes had appeared, covering the Council Minutes from 1682 to 1735.

This publication occurred exactly at the time of the "Buckshot War" and it is possible that the series fell victim to the bitter party strife which marked the period. The acts which provided for *Colonial Records* suggest that influential persons rigged them so that they would be inconspicuous. The statute of 1837, disarmingly titled "A supplement to the act entitled 'An act to authorize the printing and distribution of the Pamphlet Laws in the German language,' passed January twenty-third, A. D. one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven, and for other purposes," had as its chief other purpose authorization to print the

¹ Carson, Hampton L., *History of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1940), I, 146 ff., and *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 525-26.

² Carson, *ut supra*, I, 160-61; *Colonial Records*, I, 9-11.

³ 1836-37 P. L. 354, Act No. 107, sec. 2. See also extracts from this act and from the related act of 1838 in *Colonial Records*, I, 15-16.

⁴ 1837-38 P. L. 395, Act No. 68, sec. 7-13; 1840 P. L. 748, Res. No. 30.

initial volumes of *Colonial Records* at a cost not to exceed \$3,000. The bill of 1838 was an omnibus bill with the title "An act to authorize the Auditor General to institute suit for the collection of any balance which may be found due from Lawrence L. Minor, late clerk of the Senate, and for other purposes." Tucked away among the thirty extremely diverse sections of the act are seven sections dealing with the publication of *Colonial Records*. The Secretary of the Commonwealth was authorized to continue publication, he was to purchase for the State the five hundred copies already printed above and beyond the one thousand previously authorized, and he was empowered to hire a clerk to help with publication, at a salary of \$800, "to be charged on the treasury, and to be paid to him from the time he has begun to be so employed." Obviously much of this was *ex post facto*, the legislation merely approving action already consummated. In the same tone, the "Resolution relating to the Philadelphia Silk Culture and Manufacturing Company, and for other purposes," passed in 1840, provided:

. . . the Auditor General is hereby required to audit and settle the accounts for printing and binding the Colonial Records, up to the end of the third volume, agreeably to the contracts thereof, and the State Treasurer is hereby required to pay the balance which may be due, if any, for the same.

Publication terminated with the third volume, a fact which has been attributed to the financial troubles of the period. It appears equally possible that the group which so coyly smuggled enabling legislation into obscure corners of omnibus bills may have overreached itself and invited defeat from an opposition more thrifty and less historically-minded.

Whatever may have been the explanation for the stoppage, publication of the series ceased in 1840, to be resumed eleven years later.⁵ In his annual message of January 8, 1851, Governor Johnston urged the resumption of publication. Separate committees, one from each house, endorsed the Governor's suggestion, and an act approved February 15 provided for continued publication of the Council minutes, specifying that the series should be extended down to the adoption of the Constitution of 1790. The volumes were to be octavo, of not less than 800 pages each, with 1,500 copies of each volume. The Secretary of the Commonwealth was given charge of the series, his responsibility extending to "the faithful and literal transcribing of the records aforesaid." One thousand copies were to be sold by subscription at a price of one dollar each,

⁵ *Colonial Records*, IV, 1-16 gives a full account. For some reason this message does not appear in *Penna. Arch.*, 4th Series, VII.

and the remaining five hundred were to be distributed to libraries, to learned societies, and to a variety of officials.⁶

This same act of 1851 further provided for the appointment of an editor to select items from the files in the offices of the Secretary of the Commonwealth and to arrange for the publication of still another and closely related series to be called *Pennsylvania Archives*. Since the copy for *Colonial Records* existed in bound manuscript volumes, no editorial preparation had been involved with that series, but the publication of unbound papers required a process of selection and arrangement which could not be entrusted to a mere clerk. Fortunately there was at hand Samuel Hazard, an editor of experience and ability.

Hazard's *Pennsylvania Archives*

To Samuel Hazard must go great praise for his work with the first series of *Pennsylvania Archives*. Born in Philadelphia, Hazard early became a merchant there, making voyages to the West Indies and to the Mediterranean. From 1818 to 1827 he was in business in Alabama.⁷ Returning to Philadelphia in the latter year, he became associated with the group which had recently launched the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. His father had been prominent as a publisher and the author of historical works,⁸ and Samuel Hazard, at this time a businessman in his middle forties, shifted the course of his career and turned to historical publication. We are told by the historian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania that:

. . . From January, 1828, to December, 1835, one of our members, Mr. Samuel Hazard, following the footsteps of his father Ebenezer Hazard, under the auspices of the Society, had published in sixteen quarto volumes, a large and interesting collection of public documents, relative to the political, natural and statistical history of this state under the title of *Register of Pennsylvania*.⁹

In 1829, in the midst of his editorial duties, Hazard became curator of the Society, a post which he continued to hold until 1847. On February 13, 1839, four years after the termination of his first periodical, Hazard launched the *United States Commercial and Statistical Register* which ran until June, 1842. This second *Register* was national in its scope and published no strictly local material, though it appears to

⁶ 1851 P. L. 72, Act No. 58.

⁷ D. A. B., VIII, 472.

⁸ Appleton's *Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, III, 149.

⁹ Carson, H. L., *History of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, I, 175. *Ibid.*, 232, 239.

have enjoyed strong moral support from the Historical Society.¹⁰ In 1850 Hazard published his substantial *Annals of Pennsylvania, From the Discovery of the Delaware, 1609-82*.

As has been noted above, the act of 1851 provided not only for the continuation of the series of *Colonial Records* but as well for the launching of a new series. The act reads in part:

Section 6. That the Governor is hereby authorized and required to appoint some competent person, whose duty it shall be to select for publication such of the original documents, letters, treaties, and other papers, prior in date to the peace of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, now preserved in the secretary's office, as may be deemed of sufficient importance to be published; and to arrange them according to date and subject in one or more volumes, not exceeding five of the size of the *Colonial Records* heretofore printed, which shall be called "Pennsylvania Archives".¹¹

Subsequent sections provided \$1,000 as payment in full for the work of selection and arrangement and required that the volumes should be issued in 1,500 copies and distributed in the manner already established for *Colonial Records*.

To the task of selecting and editing, the Governor appointed Samuel Hazard, a natural choice and an excellent one. Happily for posterity, in a report submitted to Governor Johnston on December 31, 1851, the editor left a record showing clearly the problems which he faced and the procedures which he followed. He reached Harrisburg in March to find the papers in very bad condition from neglect and vandalism. For the very early period few papers survived, and he noted in particular that with trifling exceptions all the papers of William Penn were missing. For nine months he labored hard selecting and arranging. In that process he discovered in the office of the Auditor General certain papers of the Committee and Council of Safety and in the Land Office certain other documents which obviously belonged with the papers from the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth. These he incorporated in the series, although the enabling act did not prescribe nor do the title pages confess this inclusion. At the end of the year he could report:¹²

Having brought together all the papers that have fallen into my hands, I now respectfully submit the result in twenty-five bundles or packages of two hundred to four hundred papers each; they are regularly numbered from one to seven thousand and one hundred and thirty-eight. Each paper has an appro-

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 176.

¹¹ 1851 P. L. 72, Act No. 58, sec. 6.

¹² *Penna. Arch.*, 1st Series, I, 19.

priate heading, and as far as number four thousand four hundred and seventy-seven is accompanied by a catalogue serving with the corresponding number, as a guide to the printer, and showing at the same time the general contents of each paper. This, with a more careful revision of them, has been a work requiring much time.

In one late paragraph of his report Hazard noted that complying with the act under which he was employed the *Archives* ended with 1783, while arrangements had been made to continue *Colonial Records* down to 1790. On this he commented:

I would respectfully suggest that both terminate with 1790. The number of volumes of the Archives is by law limited to five, while the Records are unlimited. How many volumes will contain the Archives it is impossible to say; the probability is that more than five will be required; in which case, should the limit not be extended, the most important part, a portion of the Revolution, would be omitted. The number of volumes ought, therefore, to be regulated by the materials.

Hazard was employed with his editorial task from March, 1851, until the end of the year, handing in the selected material with his final report on December 31. The high regard which was accorded his result is strongly reflected in the language of an act which was approved just three months later, March 1, 1852:

Whereas, from the nature of the contents of the Pennsylvania Archives, now ready for publication, it is indispensably necessary to the proper execution of the work that its publication shall be superintended by some accurate and competent person; therefore,

Section 1. Be it enacted . . . That Samuel Hazard be, and he is hereby appointed to edit and superintend the publication of the Pennsylvania Archives, authorized to be printed by the act to which this is a supplement.

Section 2. That for his service as aforesaid, the said Samuel Hazard shall receive a salary at the rate of fifteen hundred dollars per annum, payable monthly . . . Provided, That said salary shall not continue longer than for one year from the commencement of the work.

Section 3. That it shall be the duty of the said editor to devote his entire attention to the publication of said archives, to prepare all necessary notes, indices, appendixes, and such other matter as may be necessary and proper, in doing which he shall be authorized to publish such papers of a date later than seventeen hundred and eighty-three as shall, in his judgment, be found necessary to give a clear and comprehensive view of any transaction commencing before that year.¹³

¹³ 1852 P. L. 101, Act No. 86.

Subsequent sections provided for including lithographs of maps and drawings, a feature which Hazard had urged in his report, and authorized the Secretary of the Commonwealth at his own discretion to expand the series beyond the prescribed five volumes. The first three volumes of *Colonial Records* were also to be reissued, and the rate of publication for these reprints and for the *Archives* volumes was to be at least one volume per month.

There was a delay in arranging the contract, and publication commenced only on August 27, 1852,¹⁴ but even so the first two volumes of *Pennsylvania Archives* appeared that first year. In 1853 came six more volumes of the *Archives*. After that production slowed down. The terminal date fixed by the act of 1852 was 1783, and for the period as set Hazard had already selected and ready for the printer some 9,000 items. These carried through Volume IX and a portion of Volume X.¹⁵ Beyond that point publication involved renewed sifting of documents and editing. The terminal date was moved up to 1790, at Hazard's own suggestion, by the act of 1854, and with nearly all of the backlog of prepared material already in print, very understandably production began to dwindle; in 1854 came Volumes IX and X; in 1855, Volume XI; and in 1856 the final volume, XII. An act of 1855 authorized the preparation and publication of an index volume to cover both *Colonial Records* and *Pennsylvania Archives*, a feature recommended by Hazard in his report, and this volume, greatly delayed and generally regarded as inferior in quality to the earlier volumes of the series, appeared only in 1860.

During this same period the Secretary of the Commonwealth, without assistance from Hazard, was continuing to publish *Colonial Records*. Four of the new volumes, IV to VII inclusive, appeared in 1851; the three reprints of the earlier volumes and four new volumes, VIII to XI inclusive, were printed in 1852; and still more of the series, XII through XV, came out during 1853. Volume XVI, the last excepting for the *Index*, appeared early in 1854 although it bears the date of the year previous.¹⁶

Meantime the legislature of 1853 had authorized the Governor to pay Hazard for such additional time as was essential, limiting additional compensation to \$250, however; and the Assembly of 1854, urged on by Governor Bigler,¹⁷ had allowed him an additional \$1,200 and

¹⁴ Preface to *General Index to the Colonial Records and to the Pennsylvania Archives*, iv.

¹⁵ *Penna. Arch.*, 1st Series, XII, v.

¹⁶ *Penna. Arch.*, 4th Series, VII, 665.

¹⁷ *Penna. Arch.*, 4th Series, VII, 665-66; 752-53.

provided rather liberally for printing expenses. In his annual message of 1854 the Governor had informed the legislature that Hazard had been working without compensation and that certain printers' contracts must be met; at this point the hand of the Assembly was forced. With renewed liberality, the Assembly of 1855 granted Hazard a yearly salary of \$1,500, payable monthly, until such time as publication should be completed. It required also that he prepare a general index for both *Colonial Records* and *Pennsylvania Archives* and that he have the originals of the papers which had been published bound and deposited with the State Library.¹⁸ This latter provision followed in part a recommendation made by Hazard himself:

. . . If returned to the office in loose form, they will (as they were before,) be exposed to mutilation or abstraction. They are at present in Philadelphia, as far as printed, deposited in the fire-proof of the Historical Society, in bundles corresponding to each volume, and may therefore be readily, and at small expense, bound. It is further suggested, that if, after being bound, they are permitted to remain on deposit with the Historical Society, among their other manuscripts, in their fire-proof, they will not only be taken care of, but be more ready of access to the numerous persons who visit the city.¹⁹

The editor was reaching advanced years, clearing up the odds and ends was obviously toilsome, and the Assembly became impatient. A joint resolution approved March 24, 1857, served notice on Hazard that his salary was to "cease and determine" on the first of the following October. On January 4, 1860, however, Governor Packer informed the Assembly that Hazard had completed an index to both series and recommended that a suitable sum should be paid him for the work performed since the discontinuance of his salary.²⁰ One year later an agreement of a sort was reached when the Assembly set aside:

. . . For the payment of Samuel Hazard, editor of the *Colonial Records* and *Pennsylvania Archives*, in full, for salary due him, nine hundred dollars: *Provided*, that he shall deliver, to the state librarian, the records, documents and all other papers appertaining to the subject, in his possession: *Provided*, That on examination of said claim by the attorney general, auditor general and secretary of state, said amount shall be found due.²¹

¹⁸ 1855 P. L. 221, Act No. 235. *See also*: 1854 P. L. 688, Act No. 680, sec. 49 and 66, and 1853 P. L. 590, Act No. 345, sec. 83.

¹⁹ *Penna. Arch.*, 1st Series, XII, vi.

²⁰ *Penna. Arch.*, 4th Series, VIII, 191.

²¹ 1861 P. L. 394, Act No. 369, sec. 34.

In his report for the year 1861, the State Librarian, William R. DeWitt, reported:

During the year Mr. Samuel Hazard has, in accordance with the provision made by the Legislature, in the settlement of his accounts, delivered to me three boxes, purporting to contain the manuscript records, documents and all other papers appertaining to the Colonial Records and Pennsylvania Archives. I would respectfully submit to the Legislature the propriety of making some disposition of these manuscripts that shall insure their preservation.²²

The next year DeWitt was still wondering what to do with the papers. Shortly his successor, Wien Forney, had greater worries. In his first report, Forney commented:

During the year 1863, in the latter part of the month of June, it became the duty of the Librarian to remove the books and papers belonging to the State Library, and convey the same to a place of safety in the city of Philadelphia. This removal was made necessary by the near approach of the rebel army, marching through the southern border counties of the Commonwealth, and menacing the Capital thereof. The removal of so large a library was attended with great labor. All the books were taken from the Library rooms in the course of a single night, and after having been loosely placed in cars, were removed to Philadelphia, where they were stored until the retreat of the rebels rendered it safe to return them again After many weeks of labor, I had the satisfaction of seeing all the books of the Library once more re-placed on the shelves thereof, and I now can safely report, that not a single volume of importance, or paper of value, has been lost.²³

Supposedly the three boxes of manuscripts made the trip to Philadelphia with the rest of the Library. It is interesting to note that during his careful survey of State records at Harrisburg in 1899 Dr. Herman V. Ames failed to find the manuscript materials used by Hazard in the First Series, but did discover a legend:

It is reported that at the time of Lee's invasion of Pennsylvania in 1863, these papers, with many others, were sent to Philadelphia for safekeeping. It may be that a portion of these were never returned, although it is reported that some, at least, were in the library subsequent to the war, but later disappeared.²⁴

²² 1862 *Legislative Documents*, 725, Doc. No. 30.

²³ 1864 *Legislative Documents*, 1170-71, Doc. No. 20.

²⁴ Ames, Herman V., "Report on the Public Archives of Pennsylvania," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1900, II, 282-83.

The story of those materials remains somewhat obscure. A fairly large number of them are now preserved in the Division of Public Records at Harrisburg, others are known to exist in the files of great collections outside the Commonwealth, and stray items bearing the unmistakable notations of Samuel Hazard appear from time to time in the hands of dealers. Known facts can probably never be pieced together in sufficient quantity to make clear just what happened to these fine old files.

Having successfully settled his accounts with the State, Hazard stayed on at Philadelphia and became librarian for the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, a position which he relinquished in 1864 because of physical disability.²⁵ He died May 22, 1870, just short of his eighty-sixth birthday. Hazard's later years in State employ were stormy and troubled, apparently because of his advanced age and failing faculties, but he had already set a mark. He was the best editor of archival materials ever to serve the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

²⁵ Carson, H. L., *op. cit.*, I, 322-24.

II. THE DR. WILLIAM HENRY EGLE PERIOD

In the combination of *Colonial Records* and Hazard's *Pennsylvania Archives*, both completed by the publication of the index volume in 1860, the Commonwealth had come to possess an inclusive compilation of fundamental documents in whose scholarly quality Pennsylvanians could take pride. Then in 1873 it was revealed that highly significant elements were still lacking in print; there were discovered at Harrisburg papers important in documenting the period of the Revolution, the minutes of the Board of War and those of the Navy Board, both dated 1777, two series which had been missed. The discovery revived publication of *Pennsylvania Archives*. A Second Series began and quickly developed; between 1874 and 1890 it came to a total of nineteen, and shortly it spilled over into a Third Series which in its turn went on between 1894 and 1899 to twenty-six more volumes plus an odd but valuable portfolio of maps. This latter volume belongs to the Third Series but is not numbered with that group; instead it is labeled merely "Appendix Third Series I-X."

These 46 volumes contain significant and truly important items, notably the minutes mentioned and materials dealing with the Wyoming Controversy and with the Whiskey Insurrection; however, uneven editing and a bewildering arrangement of subseries within the series, combined with indexing which is somewhat rudimentary, make these two series confusing for the investigator. Each of the two editors immediately succeeding devoted time to indexing, and actually, in the case of Dr. Montgomery, to reprinting material which had already been incorporated into the Second and Third Series.

Nature of Contents

The contents of the Second and Third Series of *Pennsylvania Archives* can be described as extremely diverse. To convey in any concise statement a true impression of the materials contained is difficult, for they are strangely varied. The value of the volumes for research is reduced by the dilution resulting from this diversity, and as well by inadequate documentation and the somewhat bewildering arrangement of subseries.

The Second and Third Series also include sizable bodies of material taken from sources other than the official files of the Commonwealth. There are in the Second Series two volumes of marriage records

copied from church registers which are not official public records in the strict sense. There is also included a section reprinted from Volume XII of *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, an official series then being issued at Albany.¹ Whatever the historical significance of the materials involved, modern scholarship would refrain from printing them alongside items more truly archival.

Name lists abound, but while the prevalence of such items as military rosters and muster rolls, lists of ships' passengers, long series of land warrantees and taxables, and the marriage registers already mentioned, will prove helpful to the genealogist, he will soon discover that many of the name lists of these series have come to be superseded. In the Fifth Series will be found most of the military listings better edited, more complete, and adequately indexed, while many of the records of immigration have been redone with better system in Strassburger and Hinke's *Pennsylvania German Pioneers*.

The Second Series must not be dismissed as valueless, however, for it contains not alone the minutes of the Board of War and of the Navy Board (Vol. I) and those of the Board of Property (Vol. XIX), but also other items of prime importance. Among these latter are materials relating to the French occupation of Western Pennsylvania (Vol. VI); to the Wyoming Controversy (Vol. XVIII); to boundary disputes with adjoining states (Vols. VII and XVI); and to the Whiskey Insurrection (Vol. IV).

The lack of any break of content between the Second Series and the Third is notable. The minutes of the Board of Property start with Volume XIX of the Second Series and pass on into Volumes I, II, III, and IV of the Third Series with no interruption of flow. This unusual feature appears to have resulted from an attempt by the legislature of 1893 to require the editor to prepare an index for the volumes already issued.²

The essential process of becoming oriented among the subseries which characterize the Third Series may be hastened by careful study of the following breakdown of the contents of its 31 volumes.

Volumes I-IV.

Minutes of the Board of Property (continued from Volume XIX of the Second Series) and other Land Papers.

¹ *Penna. Arch.*, 2nd Series, VII, 485-873. The marriage registers are in Vols. VIII and IX.

² 1893 P. L. 113, No. 66, sec. 4.

Volumes I and II, continuing directly from the previous volume, give land dealings in great detail, treating in general minor holdings with few documents of general interest. Volume III continues in the same vein but carries as well other items, notably "Virginia Claims to Western Pennsylvania" and notes on the Donation Lands and the Depreciation Lands. Volume IV contains maps and plats exclusively, showing chiefly the lands contained in the proprietary manors.

Volumes V-VII.

Accounts from the Office of the State Treasurer, 1777-1789.

These three volumes print in detail the accounts of the State Office and the reports of the county lieutenants, showing both expenditures for military purposes and fines received for "non-performance of militia duty and exercise" from individuals listed at length by name and company. Volume VII lists as well fees received by the Supreme Executive Council, and includes the accounts of the Indian Commissioners, notes on the payment of loans and interest by the Continental Congress and other materials of general importance.

Volumes VIII-X.

Commissions Granted and Proclamations Issued in Pennsylvania, 1733-1790, with Other Papers.

In these three volumes, despite the constant recurrence of identical forms, the commissions of county sheriffs and other officials are each printed at length and thus reach such bulk that the proclamations, which often reflect border alarms and similar events of general concern, become difficult to locate. Scattered throughout are occasional items of diverse nature, notably a few land patents. Toward the end of Volume X appear the Constitution of 1790, the minutes of the State Convention of July, 1776, and those of the Council of Censors, 1783-1784.

Unnumbered volume or portfolio bearing the title, "Appendix, Third Series, I-X."

This irregular but important volume consists exclusively of reproductions of 24 maps, with dates ranging from the Spanish explorers to 1792, folded to octavo size and bound to match the Series.

Volumes XI-XXII.

Assessment Lists for Proprietary and State Taxes, 1765-1791.

These twelve volumes reproduce in full such as survived and could be located of the lists compiled in the respective counties

and submitted to the central authorities. The long lists of individual taxpayers, township by township and county by county, are frequently divided to show "single men," "freemen," and "inmates." In most cases separate columns provide details on Acres, Horses, Cattle, Sheep, and Servants or Negroes; others list merely the amount of tax levied with no further details.

Volume XXIII.

Muster Rolls of the Pennsylvania Navy and Line, Militia and Rangers, 1775-1783, together with a List of Pennsylvania Pensioners of the Federal Government, 1818-1832.

This volume prints certain sizable bodies of material which had been missed when the military lists of the Second Series were published. The list of early pensioners appears not to include all of the names regarding which information is now available at the National Archives.

Volumes XXIV-XXVI.

Warrants of Land in the Several Counties of Pennsylvania, 1730-1898.

These three volumes reproduce the indexes of the Land Office, listing the names of persons granted land in Pennsylvania to the date of compilation. The lists are arranged county by county, and thereunder by *initial letter only* of the surnames of warrantees. Under each letter of the alphabet, the arrangement is chronological by date of the survey. The information included is very brief: name of warrantee, acres granted, date of survey. The last 206 pages of Volume XXVI cover warrantees under the "Last Purchase" of land, located in the north-western portion of the State, which became available after the Indian treaties of October 23, 1784, and January 21, 1785.

Volumes XXVII-XXX.

Index to Volumes XI-XXVI of *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series.

These volumes are discussed in the section immediately following.

Indexing

Despite requirements contained in three separate acts of the Assembly, one dated 1879, another dated 1881, and the third dated 1893, no index to the Second Series was ever produced.³ Writing in 1900, rather

³ 1879 P. L. 104, Act No. 121, sec. 32; 1881 P. L. 150, Act No. 175, sec. 14; 1893 P. L. 113, Act No. 66, sec. 4.

close to the event, Dr. Herman V. Ames stated that as a result of the act of 1893, which provided the stimulus of offering \$1,000 for the preparation of the index,

An index was prepared, but owing to its imperfections it was withheld from publication by the editor of the series until it could be reviewed. The revision, however, appears never to have been completed.⁴

This situation is relieved by the circumstance that each volume bears its own index, most of these being somewhat detailed although many list names of persons only.

For the Third Series the situation is very different. When Dr. George Edward Reed succeeded Dr. Egle as State Librarian on January 31, 1899, he succeeded also as editor of the *Archives*. Under his name four volumes, XXVII to XXX, appeared bearing a name index to the sixteen preceding volumes, XI to XXVI, inclusive, of the Third Series. All these index volumes are dated 1899. The earlier volumes were covered in less thorough fashion. In the first 331 pages of Volume XXVII Dr. Reed reprinted, one by one and without amplification or consolidation, the title pages and the somewhat sketchy individual indexes and tables of contents which Dr. Egle had provided in the volumes as they were issued through the years. For four volumes, I, II, V, and VIII, there are name indexes; for three others, III, IV, and X,⁵ there are printed nothing but tables of contents, some of these extremely brief; for VI and VII both tables of contents and name indexes are given; while for IX there is provided a name index with a very few subject headings inserted.

History of Publication

The 46 volumes of the Second and Third Series of *Pennsylvania Archives* are essentially a unit, and for that unit three names appear as editors: John Blair Linn, William Henry Egle, and George Edward Reed. How much of the actual editing was done by Linn we can but guess, and certainly Dr. Reed was connected with no part of the work excepting the four index volumes which close the Third Series. The main editorial impress for the Second and Third Series was that of William Henry Egle, M. D., well known also as the author of the series *Notes and Queries, Historical, Biographical, and Genealogical, Relating Chiefly to Interior Pennsylvania*. Dr. Egle was an antiquarian

⁴ Ames, Herman V., *ut supra* 275.

⁵ For reasons unknown, the name index printed in X, 811-20, was omitted from the compilation in XXVII.

and for his day a rather competent historian, being for decades the oracle on varied matters of Pennsylvania lore, but he was not a trained and systematic scholar.

John Blair Linn was a lawyer, politician, and amateur historian who in 1873 became deputy to Matthew S. Quay when that powerful figure was appointed Secretary of the Commonwealth. For a few months, during 1878 and until January 30, 1879, Linn himself served as Secretary. Born in Lewisburg in 1831, of a distinguished family,⁶ he was graduated from Marshall College in 1848, practiced law in Union County, and during the Civil War served as an army officer. His interest in local history is evidenced not only by his connection with the first twelve volumes of the Second Series but also by two other volumes: *Annals of Buffalo Valley*, which he published in 1877, and a *History of Centre and Clinton Counties*, dated 1883. Across the years it is difficult to estimate the extent of his active contributions to the Second Series of *Pennsylvania Archives*. Archival production slumped with his departure from Harrisburg, but it seems possible that his name on the title page was chiefly a courtesy paid a Deputy Secretary who was also a literary gentleman interested in history.

William Henry Egle, the editor whose personality is reflected most strongly throughout both series, a native of Harrisburg born in 1830 and orphaned eleven years later, received much of his education at the type case in a printer's office and rose to become, at the age of twenty-three, editor of two periodicals, the *Literary Companion* and the *Harrisburg Daily Times*.⁷ Both of these very shortly expired, leaving the young editor free to study medicine with a local physician, supporting himself meantime by teaching school and clerking at the Harrisburg Post Office. Later he studied at the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania, winning his M. D. in 1859. During the Civil War he served as surgeon and medical officer, and in 1870 he became surgeon-in-chief for the National Guard of Pennsylvania.

Dr. Egle's grandmother, with whom he lived following the death of his parents, spun for the boy tales of her personal experiences on the frontier, we are told, and like Scott he became enthralled by the romance of history. Possibly as a result of these youthful experiences, in 1871, with a curious parallel to Hazard, the forty-year-old physician turned to historical writing. Five years later he published a thick volume entitled *An Illustrated History of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Civil, Political, and Military*, a book which is still useful.

⁶ Appleton's *Cyclopaedia*, III, 733.

⁷ D. A. B., VI, 55-56; Appleton's *Cyclopaedia*, II, 315.

He published as well a variety of less-known county histories, biographies, and genealogies. Beginning in 1878 as a feature in the *Harrisburg Daily Telegraph*, continuing in pamphlet form, and eventually turning into a series of annual volumes which ran as late as 1900, Dr. Egle published the series of *Notes and Queries* for which he is chiefly remembered. As State Librarian from 1887 to 1899 he attempted to develop the Library as a center for historical research.

While each became known later in life, neither Linn nor Egle was established as an historian when in 1873 the minutes of two agencies important in the Revolution, the Board of War and the Navy Board, were unearthed at Harrisburg, both series having eluded the earlier search of Hazard.⁸ Governor Hartranft in his annual message of January 7, 1874, spoke of the recent discovery and urged publication. Very shortly an act was passed calling for the publication of the minutes and "such other papers . . . as are of historical value and have not been published," including specifically those related to the Whiskey Insurrection and the War of 1812.⁹ To cover editing and the expenses of preparing copy for publication, \$2,500 was provided.

Details as to the appointment of Linn and Egle to take charge of the publication are lost, but they wasted no time in starting work. Early in the year following they issued the first volume, and Volume III also appeared during 1875.¹⁰ The legislature of 1876 encouraged the project further by appropriating another \$2,500, and that of 1877 provided an additional \$6,000 but urged speed with the editing:

To John B. Linn for expense of editing, compiling and preparing for publication, and preparing indices, and other expenses of the second series of Pennsylvania archives, the sum of six thousand dollars: Provided, That said work shall be completed on or before January first, Anno Domini eighteen hundred and seventy-eight, in four additional volumes, making seven in all.¹¹

It may be significant that by the act just quoted Linn was to be paid not for editing, necessarily, but "for expense of editing"; this phrasing, together with a much later statement by Dr. Egle that he, himself, had been:

⁸ Cf. *Penna. Arch.*, 2nd Series, I, 3-4; 4th Series, IX, 306-07 and also 1st Series, V, 253, where Hazard noted the absence of just these papers.

⁹ 1874 P. L. 137, Act No. 70 and P. L. 168, Act No. 103, sec. 19.

¹⁰ *Penna. Arch.*, 4th Series, IX, 434, 487-88.

¹¹ 1877 P. L. 20, Act No. 17, sec. 13; 1876 P. L. 116, Act No. 88, sec. 21.

Originally appointed by Gen. John F. Hartranft, then Governor of Pennsylvania, to edit the Second Series of Pennsylvania Archives . . .¹²

suggests that from the very start Egle may have been the active editor. It must have been difficult, however, for either of the two men to have worked full time at the task, for in 1876 Egle published his thick *Illustrated History of the Commonwealth*, and the following year Linn issued his *Annals of Buffalo Valley*. It seems possible that it was pre-occupation with these private ventures which slowed the speed of the editing of the Second Series.

The last half of Volume VII is reprinted, with proper acknowledgments, from Berthold Fernow's *Documents Relating to the History of the Dutch and Swedish Settlements on the Delaware River*, which had appeared as Volume XII of the official series *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*.¹³ Investigators will do well to use the Fernow edition, however, for in the Pennsylvania reprint a portion of Fernow's notes is omitted and certain other details altered.

With seven volumes issued, the Assembly of 1879, urged by Governor Hartranft, ordered five more volumes, but at a reduction in the price for editing:

The secretary of the commonwealth is hereby directed to continue the publication of the five remaining volumes of the second series of the archives . . . and for the preparation of the matter to be included in said volumes, reading of proof, separate indices to each, and for preparing a general index to the entire series by the editors thereof, the sum of twenty-five hundred dollars is hereby appropriated . . .¹⁴

The five volumes, VIII through XII, appeared in 1880 and early 1881,¹⁵ and there, apparently, the partnership of Linn and Egle as editors ended. Linn left the office of Secretary of the Commonwealth in January, 1879, and after Volume XII his name appears no more in connection with *Pennsylvania Archives*. His *History of Centre and Clinton Counties* is dated 1883.

¹² *Penna. Arch.*, 3rd Series, XXVI, iii.

¹³ Cf. *Penna. Arch.*, 2nd Series, VII, 485-873 and *Doc. Rel. to Col. Hist. of N. Y.*, XII, p. 16 ff.

¹⁴ 1879 P. L. 104, Act No. 121, sec. 32; *Penna. Arch.*, 4th Series, IX, 693 and 790-91.

¹⁵ The fact that the title page of Vol. VIII bears the imprint 1878 instead of the obviously correct date 1880 must be attributed to an error in editing. In a somewhat similar tangle the first edition of XIII drops Linn's name, while the later edition of 1896 carries the names of both Linn and Egle.

The demand for published archives continued, but Dr. Egle was somewhat slow in meeting it. The legislature of 1881 called for two additional volumes, plus a volume of general index, at \$400 each for editorial work, but with no result. Two years later the legislature again called for Volume XIII and XIV, "matter for which is now in the hands of the State Printer," and for the reprinting of several of the earlier volumes. An appropriation of \$5,000 was provided for all this, but still there were no new volumes, nor reprints even.¹⁶ With commendable persistence, the session of 1885 requested the preparation of "five additional volumes, of the same series of archives," and provided that the editor should:

. . . be paid for his services in preparing the copy, reading the proofs, and making proper indices, the sum of four hundred dollars for each of volumes thirteen and fourteen.¹⁷

For reasons now obscure, it was two years later, in 1887, that XIII was finally published, and Volume XIV appeared only in 1888. The struggle of Dr. Egle to produce edited copy must have become even more difficult when, on March 3, 1887, he became State Librarian.

In 1889 the legislature was demanding still further publication. It ordered extensive reprinting of the earlier volumes and the completion of the five additional volumes called for in 1885, all these to appear before July 1, 1890.¹⁸

During the early 1890's the new patriotic societies were growing rapidly and the search for information regarding possible military ancestors was increasingly intensive and persistent. Few sessions passed without providing for further archival publication. In 1893 the call was for ten volumes of a new Third Series and for an index to the Second Series. For preparing the index Dr. Egle was to receive \$1,000. The session of 1895 demanded extensive reprintings; in 1897, the call was for "twenty additional volumes of the present series of archives," that is, for twenty more of the Third Series. The legislature of 1899 went on to direct the preparation of what was to become the Fourth Series:

¹⁶ 1881 P. L. 150, Act No. 175, sec. 14 and 1883 P. L. 137, Act No. 124. Dr. Egle published his *History of the Counties of Dauphin and Lebanon*, in 2 vols., in 1883.

¹⁷ 1885 P. L. 28, Act No. 31, sec. 2 and 3.

¹⁸ 1889 P. L. 204, Act No. 222. See also *Penna. Arch.*, 4th Series, X, 509-10 and 730.

. . . ten volumes of a series of archives, comprising the documents and papers connected with the affairs of the provincial and State government of a date immediately following the present, or third series of archives.¹⁹

In the face of such tremendous pressure for publication even a scholar more exacting than was Dr. Egle could have done nothing but pour all available copy into the presses with a hurried and uncritical hand. The Second Series had closed at Volume XIX with the five volumes published in 1890, but the first four volumes of the Third Series appeared in 1894, to be followed by six more volumes, plus "Appendix, Third Series, I-X," in 1896. In 1897 no fewer than sixteen volumes of the Third Series were issued, but that pace appears to have been too much for Dr. Egle. No volumes appeared during 1898, and on January 31, 1899, he surrendered his position as State Librarian. Seemingly the change in administration which came at that moment was not a factor; the reason appears to have been advancing years and physical disability, for the editor was then in his seventieth year. For the last volume of the Third Series to bear his name, he wrote a rambling but touching foreword which combined an apologia, a prophetic plea, and a farewell:

Originally appointed by Gen. John F. Hartranft, then Governor of Pennsylvania, to edit the Second Series of Pennsylvania Archives, it might be perfectly proper in laying down the work of twenty years, to briefly summarize the work to its close, but the forty-five volumes of its rich and important historical data must suffice. Had the records of the State been under the control of one department, and assistance been rendered to arrange all the documents in chronological order, the task of the Editor would have been lightened, and much of what remains be ready for publication. No appropriation was ever made for the transcribing of papers—and this was paid for by the Editor from the amount received for editing the same. Anxious to preserve for futurity the more valuable of the State Archives—to keep them from the autograph-hunter and despoiler—with a love for the work, have been the principal motives for having this accomplished. As State Librarian, the Editor has suggested that when the new Capitol Building is completed, fire-proof rooms be set apart for the arranging and placing of all documents not required for present purposes in the various departments—these to be under the control of a reliable archivist—where they may be consulted at all times by the historian and genealogist. As they now are, this cannot be done—

¹⁹ 1889 P. L. 111, Act No. 87; *see also* 1893 P. L. 113, Act No. 66; 1895 P. L. 309, Act No. 227 and P. L. 547, Act No. 447, sec. 46; 1897 P. L. 41, Act No. 35. *See also Penna. Arch.*, 4th Series, XI, 179 and 771.

and much less, owing to the frequent changes of political administration, no one department has any knowledge of the various documents in its care. The Editor would like to see this done. Our Archives are rich in historic lore, and Pennsylvania has not been wholly unmindful of their preservation.²⁰

Much as Hazard had done forty years before, another tired old man was ending his working days with the archives of Pennsylvania. Dr Egle died February 19, 1901.

²⁰ *Penn. Arch.*, 3rd Series, XXVI, ii.

III. THE DR. GEORGE EDWARD REED PERIOD

The Second and Third Series, voluminous as they were, had failed to satiate the demand for published *Pennsylvania Archives*. During his last ten years in office Dr. Egle had put out no fewer than 32 volumes, but when he retired there was still a legislative mandate for more books, together with a reasonable and long-standing demand for more and better indexes.

The post of State Librarian was taken over on January 31, 1899, by Dr. George Edward Reed, who thereupon became the new editor of *Pennsylvania Archives*. Dr. Reed proceeded to issue during his first year in office four volumes of index, these being XXVII through XXX of the Third Series, to cover Volumes XI through XXVI, the sixteen volumes next preceding in the Series. In 1900 he started the Fourth Series, which had been authorized by the legislature of 1899, publishing five more volumes. In 1901 he put out only Volume VI, but before he resigned on October 25, 1902, he succeeded in issuing the six final numbers of the Fourth Series, for a total of sixteen volumes during but 45 months in office. Thus, under pressure from the Assembly, a total of 43 volumes appeared from 1894 to 1902, a span of nine years.

Nature of Contents

The Fourth Series of *Pennsylvania Archives* bears the title "Papers of the Governors" and includes in its twelve volumes the Charter of the Province and certain Papers of the Governors from William Penn down to the final year of publication for the Series, 1902, ending with Governor William Alexis Stone. These papers are almost exclusively official in character, being chiefly formal addresses and general, special, and veto messages directed to the Assembly. Also contained are proclamations and a very limited quantity of correspondence. There are as well a very brief biographical sketch for each Governor, and a portrait of every Governor after 1790. For thirteen of the Provincial Governors no portraits could be found. Excepting for these biographical sketches, and careful indexes, editorial work in this series is scanty.

Indexing

Pages 641 to 963 of Volume XII contain a "General Index to the Pennsylvania Archives, Fourth Series." This combines the individual indexes which are to be found with each respective volume.

History of Publication

The work of George Edward Reed, LL.D., as editor of *Pennsylvania Archives* divides into two parts: During his first eleven months in office he published four volumes indexing the greater part of the Third Series; meantime, an act approved April 28, 1899, had set him up with a Fourth Series of his own. The Secretary of the Commonwealth was directed to have prepared for publication:

. . . ten volumes of a series of archives, comprising the documents and papers connected with the affairs of the provincial and State government . . .¹

For ten years, since 1889, Dr. Reed had been President of Dickinson College, located at Carlisle some twenty miles west of Harrisburg. Born in Maine, in the year 1846, of English-born parents, in 1869 he had been graduated from Wesleyan University, in Connecticut, and he had come to Dickinson from a Methodist pastorate at New Haven. He continued at Dickinson until 1911, a term of twenty-two years. During a period of nearly four of those years he was at the same time State Librarian and editor of *Pennsylvania Archives*.²

As State Librarian Dr. Reed operated in a somewhat novel fashion. The sum of \$6,000 had been made available to him by the Assembly of 1899 for the purpose of cataloging the Library.³ With Dr. Reed's good friend and colleague, Major James Evelyn Pilcher, as supervisor of the project, and in the space of six weeks during the new editor's first summer in office, a special task force of fifty-four workers installed a modern card catalog.⁴ The regular Library staff at this time, even counting the watchman and Dr. Reed, numbered seven. It was with part of these same workers, or with another similar group that same year, that Dr. Reed performed the feat of so rapidly compiling the index to sixteen volumes of the Third Series. He later commented that:

. . . more than thirty persons were employed, all of whom were paid for services rendered out of the \$500 per volume allowed by the Legislature for editorial supervision. It is hardly necessary to state that, under these circumstances, the pecuniary reward of the vast enterprize to the editor was not of such magnitude as to excite the envy of any covetous of the position. The work, however, was necessary, and it is well that it was accomplished.⁵

¹ 1899 P. L. 111, Act No. 87.

Jordan, John W., *Encyclopedia of Pennsylvania Biography*, IV, 1329-30; Morgan, James H., *Dickinson College, 1783-1923*, 357 ff. Note portrait facing p. 356

² 1899 P. L. 364, Act No. 320, sec. 2, p. 372.

⁴ *Report of the State Librarian*, 1899, pp. 19-22

⁵ *Report of the State Librarian*, 1902, p. 24.

From repeated acknowledgments it is evident that in these enterprises, and with the Fourth Series as well, Major Pilcher, who was an M. D., a Ph. D., a member of the faculty at Dickinson, and also an author,⁶ assisted Dr. Reed greatly.

There is no certain evidence as to what sources were used in compiling the Fourth Series. The preface to Volume I makes references to "manuscript and printed papers of the Commonwealth," and to "priceless papers," but no specific manuscript source is cited, and, excepting with the proclamations, footnoting, cross references, and editorial comment are slight. After the days of Samuel Hazard, documentation became a lost art with editors of *Pennsylvania Archives*; with the Assembly demanding quantity production, there was no time for frills. There had been preserved in the files of the Commonwealth and still exist in the Division of Public Records various series of papers relating to Pennsylvania's Governors which would have been useful. *Colonial Records* and Hazard's *Pennsylvania Archives* had made available much material of this sort, and in 1900 there still remained in manuscript the "Executive Minutes," essentially journals or blotters kept by the Governors for the period 1790 to 1838, which were later published as the Eighth Series. There was also a set of fine old books entitled "Legislative Communications," nine volumes dating from 1790 to 1843, containing fair manuscript copies of the messages addressed by successive Governors to the respective legislatures. There is no indication as to which of these sources were consulted.

While Dr. Reed did not disclose his sources, he was very definite as to the nature of the materials which he printed:

The papers will be found to fall naturally into six classes:

1. Addresses,
2. General Messages,
3. Special Messages,
4. Veto Messages,
5. Proclamations,
6. Correspondence.

The first five are fully represented in this collection, but the sixth,—the correspondence of the Governors—has been included only in certain cases where it has been of evident historical value, and where it has been readily accessible.⁷

⁶ *Alumni Record of Dickinson College*, Carlisle, 1905, pp. 34-35.

⁷ *Penna. Arch.*, 4th Series, I, vi.

That the plan was to supplement the Fourth Series with a fifth series to contain the closely related correspondence of the Governors is evidenced by the act passed in 1901 authorizing:

... a further series of archives, not to exceed fifteen volumes in number, comprising the correspondence of the Governors of the Commonwealth, now in the custody of the State Department, not published in preceding series, and such other matter as the Secretary of the Commonwealth may deem advisable . . .⁸

The series described in this act of 1901 was never to appear. The election of Samuel Pennypacker as Governor in 1902 changed the course of events, founded the Division of Public Records, and placed Thomas Lynch Montgomery in charge at the State Library. The Fifth Series which did appear subsequently, contained no gubernatorial correspondence but chiefly muster rolls.

The fact that the materials printed in the Fourth Series lack documentation, while serious, by no means destroys the value of the Series, for other printings of these items are rare, and most of the material contained, in particular the annual and biennial messages to the Assembly, is of prime importance to historians.

⁸ 1901 P. L., 749, Act No. 446.

IV. THE DR. THOMAS LYNCH MONTGOMERY PERIOD

The Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Series of *Pennsylvania Archives*, a total of 28 volumes, of which one is bound in two parts, were all issued between 1906 and 1914 under the direction of Dr. Thomas Lynch Montgomery, who served as State Librarian from 1903 to 1921. Compilation was by the Division of Public Records which had been established in 1903 in the State Library chiefly through the influence of Governor Samuel W. Pennypacker.

Nature of Contents

The Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Series consist primarily of lists of names, the Fifth collecting all available muster and militia rolls for the earlier periods of the French and Indian Wars and the Revolution, while the Sixth covers, in general, later militia rolls, those for the years of peace and for the War of 1812-14. The Seventh Series consists exclusively of a five-volume index to the Sixth Series, since a projected continuation of the Seventh to contain Executive Minutes was cancelled because of circumstances unforeseen.

A relatively slight amount of source material of a general nature is included in these series. The Fifth contains almost nothing excepting military lists; the Sixth, however, does cover some scattered materials different in origin, notably early church records of marriages and baptisms, details regarding forfeited estates, a few orderly books, military accounts for the 1812 period, and eighteenth-century election returns from the counties. The material is neatly ordered, though some confusion results from the circumstance that battalion numbers assigned during the Revolution were not constant, notable changes appearing after the militia act of March 20, 1780. These listings follow the numbers without noting the fact that frequently the men listed shift to a unit differently numbered. Certain of the records here printed were taken from unofficial sources with the result that not always can items listed now be traced to the original documents.

Indexing

Excellent indexing of names characterizes these three series and renders them particularly valuable to genealogists, although the unusual locations of the indexes will at first confuse the searcher. The indexing

of the Fifth Series is covered by two fat volumes which are Part I and Part II, respectively, of Volume XV of the Sixth Series, while the more than one million names included in the Sixth Series itself are carefully indexed in the five volumes which make up the Seventh Series.

History of Publication

When, in 1903, Judge Samuel W. Pennypacker came to Harrisburg as Governor, an era of expanding activity in the care and publication of public records began, chiefly because Pennypacker was by avocation a competent investigator in the field of Pennsylvania history. Being as well a distant relative of Matthew Quay, and from first to last a staunch admirer of and apologist for that powerful politician, the Judge became during his years at Harrisburg a center of controversy and a target for criticism. Even amid these storms, however, he found time to befriend the cause of history.

The father of Samuel W. Pennypacker, a physician and professor of medicine in Philadelphia, died in his prime, and the brilliant son, barred by financial stringency from the college education which had appeared to be destined for him, read widely in a variety of languages even while preparing himself for the law and developed as a collector of rare books and a self-trained scholar, writing much and speaking frequently on Pennsylvania genealogy and history. He came from sturdy old stock of which he was properly proud, tracing in his own blood most of the strains which colonized the Commonwealth. Included in his various lines of descent were Revolutionary officers, large landholders, a congressman, ironmasters, and, reputedly, John of Gaunt. The Judge had been flattered when the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, a group of scholarly standing, recognized his talent. In the charmingly frank autobiography which he wrote in his old age for publication after his death, he recorded:

In March, 1872, I was elected a member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania . . . Ere long I became a member of the council and vice-president, and in 1900 was elected to the presidency. This event marked an innovation in the conduct of the Society. Up to my time the president had always been selected from among families long identified with the life of the city and had always dwelt south of Market Street.¹

Until his death in 1916, he continued to head the Society.

¹ Pennypacker, S. W., *Autobiography of a Pennsylvanian*, p. 155.

While Governor, Pennypacker, as he himself expressed it, coaxed into public affairs "a number of gentlemen who never would have entered this kind of life but for me." Prominent among these was Dr. Thomas Lynch Montgomery, who came to Harrisburg as State Librarian. Pennypacker put the matter very bluntly:

The State Library had long been neglected. With the exception of Ehrenfeld and Egle, the librarians had either been politicians, pure and simple, or incompetents, who neglected their work. The archives, consisting of papers tied up in loose bundles, had long been the stamping ground of literary thieves. I put at the head of the library Thomas Lynch Montgomery, a trained librarian, who had been in charge of the Wagner Institute in Philadelphia, a member of a family of high social standing and a man of great efficiency. I likewise had arrangements made to have the archives that remained and all of the papers of the departments, prior to a certain early date, repaired, chronologically arranged, bound into volumes and put in the library.²

It was thus that there came into being in the State Library at Harrisburg a Division of Public Records. Of course few situations are baldly simple, and factors other than the interest and influence of the Governor were at work. This was the period in which the Division of Manuscripts at the Library of Congress was starting to build towards greatness, in a number of states departments or divisions of archives and history were being founded, and the justly famous Public Archives Commission of the American Historical Association had been effectively busy for some five years, stirring interest in national, state, and local records. Here in Pennsylvania, Dr. Herman V. Ames, later to become Dean of the Graduate School at the University of Pennsylvania, but then a scholarly young professor of history, had joined with Dr. Lewis S. Shimmel of Harrisburg to survey the State records and publish a splendid summary in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1900.³ A strong tide of more than State-wide significance was running, but it was Governor Pennypacker who by his political sagacity and influence channeled its force to produce at Harrisburg the legislative action needed to found the Division of Public Records and to provide for it adequate funds and leadership.

Dr. Montgomery devoted the newly-founded Division of Public Records chiefly to the forging of tools for genealogical research. Twenty-five to fifty letters were reaching the State Library each week requesting

² Pennypacker, *op. cit.*, p. 284. See also 1903 P. L. 177, Act No. 135; P. L. 502, Act No. 496, sec. 2, p. 510; P. L. 545, Res. No. 3.

³ Vol. II, 267-97, "Report on the Public Archives of Pennsylvania."

information from the military records, and providing adequate answers from the materials at hand involved dreary hours of searching. The sources of such information were profuse but scattered. Perhaps because of his Philadelphia connections, many original muster rolls which had long lain unprinted in the files of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania were now made available to Dr. Montgomery for publication. Other rolls were found to be in private hands throughout the State, and these, also, could be borrowed. At the same time, active use of the lists printed by Dr. Egle in certain volumes of the Second and Third Series demonstrated that copying had been careless with the result that the printed version frequently varied from the manuscript original.

Considering all this, it seemed wise to resume publication, and two series were compiled, the Fifth and the Sixth, new series each of which combined with the newly-available materials a more accurate rendering of the lists already printed in earlier series. Thus was produced a more orderly, more inclusive, and more trustworthy listing of Pennsylvania's early military men. Being designed to aid the genealogist, these series were provided with especially fine indexes excellent as finding mediums though themselves difficult to find. At the end of the Sixth Series, bound as Part I and Part II, each thick, Volume XV appeared bearing an index to the names included in the Fifth Series, while a Seventh Series, delayed until 1914 by the burden of work involved, devoted its five volumes exclusively to indexing the more than one million names referred to in the series next preceding.

Dr. Montgomery incorporated materials from sources which were outside official custody, and, as with Dr. Egle, documentation was infrequent and vague. His procedures are made sufficiently clear in the very similar prefaces which he wrote for the initial volumes of the Fifth and of the Sixth Series. Most revealing is his explanation for the letters which appear in parentheses throughout the two series:

The significations of the various letters contained in brackets gives the Titles of Papers in this Series and are as follows:

- a—Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series.
- b—Pennsylvania Archives, Third Series.
- c—Original Muster Rolls in Division of Public Records.
- d—Original Muster Rolls from Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
- e—Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography.
- i—Certified Copies from Department at Washington, D. C.
- g—Papers from the Historical Society of York County.
- h—Papers received from Miss Caroline Mays of York, Pa.

The Editor wishes to express his appreciation of the sympathy and good-will of the Hon. Robert McAfee, Secretary of the Commonwealth, under whose direction the Archives were printed and also to the many contributors who allowed their original material to be included in these important State Records.⁴

By an unfortunate slip, a serious error found its way into the Seventh Series which indexes the Sixth Series. In printing Volume V, the S's of all entries between *Sternfeldt, George* and *Stinor, Melchor*, both inclusive, were omitted. The names in Volume V, page 3169, jump very noticeably from *Sterner, William* to *Stinsen, John*. Investigators seeking names which fall within these alphabetical limits should refer to the Appendix of this GUIDE where a list of the intervening entries is printed.

The Seventh Series, the last on which the name of Dr. Montgomery appears, ends with the fifth volume and the termination of the Z's of the index for the Sixth Series. That the editor planned additional volumes is clearly shown by the preface to Volume I of the Seventh Series which reads in part:

The first five volumes of the Seventh Series of Archives contain the Index of the Sixth Series.

These will be followed by the Executive Minutes.

As matters were to develop, it was a much later administration which, between 1931 and 1935, brought out the Executive Minutes as the Ninth Series.

Some of the reasons for the lapse in production after 1914 are sufficiently obvious. The Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Series had been compiled in the Division of Public Records, and Luther Reily Kelker, of Harrisburg, who had been in charge of that Division from the beginning, died in 1915. He was succeeded by Dr. Hiram Herr Shenk, who came to Harrisburg from the faculty of Lebanon Valley College. This was the period of the first World War, Dr. Shenk served on a local draft board, and from November, 1917, through February, 1918, he was on leave and with the Y. M. C. A. at Camp Travis, San Antonio, Texas. All this was disruptive. Furthermore, after his return Dr. Shenk spent part of his time investigating the condition of the records in local offices, apparently as a result of the circumstance that the legislature of 1915 had created the post of Supervisor of Public Records, an officer charged with responsibility for checking county, city, and borough records.⁵ No Supervisor of Public Records appears to have been appointed, and the

⁴ *Penna. Arch.*, 6th Series, I, iv.

⁵ 1915 P. L. 528, Act No. 232 and *Report of State Librarian*, 1918, pp. 12-16

office passed quietly from existence by default, but for a time new duties came to Dr. Shenk. In addition to all this, during the late 1920's the Archivist also became Executive Secretary for the Pennsylvania Historical Commission. Legislation passed in 1919 had meantime re-organized the State Library and Museum⁶ giving Dr. Montgomery wider authority as director of both, and depleting the time which he could devote to public records and editing. Then on November 30, 1921, he resigned to become librarian for the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. All these circumstances, doubtless in combination with others less obvious, resulted in a prolonged suspension of publication. Following the appearance of the five volumes of the Seventh Series in 1914, no further *Pennsylvania Archives* were issued until 1931, when, under entirely different direction, there began to appear simultaneously the Eighth and Ninth Series.

⁶ 1919 P. L. 242, Act No. 133.

V. THE PERIOD OF THE 1930'S

The Eighth and Ninth Series of *Pennsylvania Archives*, a total of eighteen volumes, were authorized by a single act of legislation in 1929 and published concurrently between 1931 and 1935. Their publication was initiated by one State Librarian, Frederic A. Godcharles, copy was prepared and the proof read under the general direction of a second State Librarian, Gertrude MacKinney, and the work was completed under a third, Charles F. Hoban. In more immediate charge were two successive State Archivists, Dr. Hiram H. Shenk and Dr. Curtis W. Garrison. The eight volumes of the Eighth Series and the ten volumes of the Ninth are all products of a period marked by change and uncertainty.

Nature of Contents

The Eighth and Ninth Series consist of records of prime importance, published entirely without benefit of editorial arrangement, deletion, or notation. The Eighth Series comprises the journals of the Provincial Assembly from the beginning of English rule in 1682 to its end in 1776. The manuscript sources having disappeared, this series was reprinted directly from a scarce edition of the eighteenth century.

The Ninth Series, in contrast, is a straight and complete printing of the contents of fifteen manuscript volumes of so-called "Executive Minutes" which date from 1790 to 1838 and cover exactly the effective duration of the Constitution of 1790. These volumes might more properly be called an executive blotter or journal, since rather than the proceedings of an executive council, such as are the minutes found in *Colonial Records*, they record day by day the official acts of the successive governors.

Each of these two series contains a tremendous amount of detailed information on a great diversity of matters, and each stems entirely from authentic and official materials. Together with *Colonial Records* and Hazard's series, the Eighth and Ninth Series make up what is, perhaps, the one greatest mine of first-hand data on the earlier history of Pennsylvania.

Indexing

Early plans for providing indexes to render access to these rich sources easy went awry during the troubled era of the 1930's and no index for either the Eighth or Ninth Series has yet been published. Dr.

Curtis Garrison, State Archivist from 1933, nearly completed a thorough index to the Eighth Series before he left Harrisburg in 1936. Later this index reached the form of clear printer's copy, and the typed version is available for use in the search room of the Division of Public Records at Harrisburg.

Work on an index to cover the Ninth Series started in 1932 and was pushed forward under varied auspices, chiefly with W.P.A. assistance, for several years. Still incomplete, on paper slips, and arranged volume by volume only, this index to the Ninth Series is also preserved at the Division of Public Records. Not only is it unwieldy and incomplete, but its condition is delicate and free use could easily destroy its order. On special occasions staff members at the Division can make searches in this index for advanced investigators engaged in serious research projects of general significance, but at present it cannot be made generally available.

It is earnestly hoped that developments will make possible within a reasonable period the publication of both these indexes.

History of Publication

Published concurrently, the first volumes of the Eighth and Ninth Series of *Pennsylvania Archives* appeared in 1931, the publication of both series ending in 1935. Conspicuous as is the lapse of seventeen years between the issue of the Seventh Series in 1914 and the appearance of the first volumes of its successor, that lapse is perhaps less remarkable than the fact that revival of publication became possible at all during a period marked by such general uncertainty. Throughout America this was a time of flux and change, and the smaller archival world of Harrisburg was no exception.

From its beginning in 1903, the Division of Public Records, after the middle twenties known as the Archives and History Section, had been a unit within the State Library. For good or ill its fate became closely linked with the fortunes of that parent agency. Significant is the circumstance that while for the twenty years between 1919 and 1939 Pennsylvania elected but four different Governors, Gifford Pinchot serving two terms, during this same span no fewer than seven State Librarians held office in Harrisburg: Thomas Lynch Montgomery, until December, 1921; George P. Donahoo, 1921-1924; Anna Addams MacDonald (acting), 1924 to 1927; Frederic A. Godcharles, 1927 to 1931; Gertrude MacKinney, 1931 to 1935; Charles F. Hoban (acting), for four months only, at the end of 1935; and Joseph L. Rafter, 1936 to 1940.

Such marked uncertainty of tenure could scarcely be expected to induce publication, yet somehow amidst the shouting and the tumult two substantial series of *Pennsylvania Archives*, eighteen volumes of prime source materials, were prepared for the printer and issued. Alongside this solid accomplishment it is of but passing interest that not all the volumes planned and authorized by an act bearing the significant date of 1929 reached print during the years of depression which followed. After 1929 such failures came to be expected.

It has been noted above that the death of Luther Reily Kelker in 1915 combined with the disruptions of the war period to end the plan of Dr. Montgomery for including the Executive Minutes in the Seventh Series. This project was to be revived and joined with others by a later State Librarian. Early in 1929, Frederic A. Godcharles, with characteristic enthusiasm, reported to the Superintendent of Public Instruction:

The Director has been pleased to ask the Governor to provide in the budget for the publication of two new series of "Pennsylvania Archives," together with an index for all preceding series and to republish "Frontier Forts," and to publish two volumes of the "Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania." . . . Although much of the material is now ready for the press, at the same time the work of reediting "Frontier Forts" and preparing the data for such of the archives that is not quite ready for the printer, will involve a great deal of necessary work, but that we will be very happy to engage in, for we believe these books should be published while Governor Fisher is in office.¹

This proposal was well received, and on May 15 following Governor Fisher approved:

An act authorizing the Department of Public Instruction, through the State Library and Museum, to collect, classify and edit an eighth and ninth series of Pennsylvania Archives, an index to the Pennsylvania Archives, and to re-edit "Frontier Forts"; providing for the publication of said volumes; and making an appropriation.²

The legislative grant was \$100,000, but this the Governor cut to \$75,000. The cut bore no practical significance for Mr. Godcharles; his hope for reaching publication before the end of Governor Fisher's term (and his own) proved entirely too optimistic.

¹ Ms. report, Godcharles to Dr. J. A. H. Keith, Jan. 8, 1929. Copy in files of State Librarian.

² 1929 P. L. 1761, Act No. 570.

Instead of being completed in two years, as Godcharles planned, the process of preparing copy and publishing the two new series of *Pennsylvania Archives* was to last for many years. It started promptly and ground steadily through the uneasy period of the early thirties, a span of years which at the State Library was peculiarly marked by change and turmoil. Late in July, 1929, two months after the essential legislation had been approved, the typing of printer's copy had begun. Two years later, after Gifford Pinchot had replaced Godcharles with Miss Gertrude MacKinney, in her first monthly report the new State Librarian stated that by August, 1931, the typing of the copy for the Ninth Series had been completed. A major disruption came when during the following October and November the State Library moved from what is now the State Museum to its present location in the Education Building, then newly completed. Through that fall and winter Dr. Shenk was reading proof on the Ninth Series, and by July, 1932, three years after the typing of copy had started, he was reading proof on both series. The spring following, Dr. Shenk retired from State employ and returned to teaching, but on September 1, 1933, his successor, Dr. Curtis W. Garrison, arrived to go on with the reading of proof and to start compiling an index to the Eighth Series, the "Votes of the Assembly." By the end of the sixth year, in July, 1935, Dr. Garrison had completed reading galley proof on the Eighth Series, and publication of the Ninth Series was all but completed. Slightly later, in September, Dr. Charles F. Hoban succeeded Miss MacKinney as State Librarian, serving until Dr. Joseph E. Rafter took over on January 16, 1936. Since he arrived at a strategic moment, apparently when the books were in page proof, Dr. Hoban's name was placed on the title pages as editor of three volumes of the Eighth Series; the other fifteen volumes, all ten of of the Ninth Series and the first five of the Eighth, bear the name of Miss MacKinney.

Prominent during this troubled era was Dr. Curtis W. Garrison, a native of Tioga County who arrived in Harrisburg with the degree of Ph. D. from Johns Hopkins University plus some six years' experience at the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress. He became State Archivist in September, 1933, and left that office in December, 1936. He took over the guidance of the Eighth and Ninth Series when they were in the very midst of publication, served for slightly more than three years, under no fewer than three State Librarians, initiated during his brief stay in the Division a variety of sound archival procedures, struggled with Civil Works Administration and Work Projects Administration projects during the early and most difficult period of the New Deal work-relief program, almost completed one large index—that

for the Eighth Series—and went far with a second—that for the Ninth Series—and as well read a great bulk of the galley proof and of the page proof for both series. Nowhere in either the Eighth or Ninth Series does his name appear, but, fortunately, much evidence of his work remains in the Division and in his monthly reports, still on file with the State Librarian.

The Eighth Series

The Eighth Series was designed to publish, in “approximately twelve volumes,” the journal of the Provincial Assembly of Pennsylvania from the beginning in 1682 to the end of British rule in 1776. The manuscript sources had been lost, but fortunately there had been printed at Philadelphia a fine six-volume, eighteenth-century edition. Officially the title of these is *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania*, but on the back leathers and in casual reference the series is known as “Votes of the Assembly.” Three volumes had been “printed and sold by B. Franklin and D. Hall” between 1752 and 1754, while the later three had been printed by Henry Miller between 1774 and 1776. The tall folios of the old edition, with their large, clear type, are strikingly handsome. Their footnoting is sparse, by modern standards, but copious marginal notes are provided. The frequent insertion of dates and guiding phrases in the margins makes rapid scanning possible, and, even lacking an index, the task of locating a desired item in the chronological sequence is reasonably simple.

Unfortunately it proved impossible to transfer this eighteenth-century beauty and convenience to the twentieth-century reprinting. Long since, the earlier series of *Pennsylvania Archives* had established the octavo size as standard, and very likely State printing contracts made impossible the use of any but the most ordinary type. There is lacking even differentiation of type size for the footnotes; all runs together in a uniform confusion. The result is depressing, but more important is the very real loss which came when the marginal notations were omitted completely.

It would appear that an early decision abandoned hope for reproducing the marginal notes, while at the same time establishing that all footnotes were to be retained. Had the marginal notations been exclusively a matter of convenience, merely an aid to ready reference, they could have been spared; the circumstance that in a few cases they are something much more than a convenience makes their omission serious. In at least three instances there occur notations as to the location or condition of the originals from which the early edition was prepared, and in at least

three other cases the marginal notations contain most important information regarding certain books or documents quoted or cited in the body of the text.³ These significant details are all completely lost so far as the reprint in the Eighth Series is concerned.

In at least three cases, also, a serious slip of another variety appears. The footnotes of the early edition were copied entire, including certain page numbers for cross reference. Obviously these page numbers should have been corrected to fit the new edition, but, in some cases at least, they were not.⁴ In all important studies investigators will therefore find it wise to check with the eighteenth-century printing for details which may have been omitted in the somewhat less complete modern reproduction.

The Ninth Series

The nature and scope of the Ninth Series is briefly and well expressed in the preface which Dr. Shenk wrote for the first volume. In effect the Series continues *Colonial Records*, which ends on December 20, 1790; the Ninth Series picks up on the very next day and continues for forty eight years, until March 21, 1838, spanning completely the period during which the Constitution of 1790 was in force.⁵ Printer's copy for this series was typed directly from fifteen volumes of manuscript minutes preserved in the Division of Public Records.⁶ In passing, it may be noted that also preserved in the Division is a set of rough copies, in paper covers, of the same materials. In these are fastened at intervals clippings, broadside proclamations, and even a few official reports and letters, originals in the handwriting of the correspondents.

While in a sense the Ninth Series continues the series of Executive Minutes from *Colonial Records*, it is almost as closely related to the Fourth Series, the Papers of the Governors. In dates the Fourth overlaps it completely, but duplication of text is infrequent and unimportant. The Fourth Series published almost exclusively addresses, messages to the Assembly, and proclamations, while the Ninth Series records day by day executive actions of amazing variety. Some matters are of inter-

³I, part 1, p. ix (cf. 8th Series, I, xi-xii); I, part 2, p. 5 (cf. 8th Series, I, 410); I, part 2, p. 113 (cf. 8th Series, I, 630). For books and documents cited see: IV, 471-74 (cf. 8th Series, V, 4042 ff.); IV, 486 (cf. 8th Series, V, 4081); IV, 515 (cf. 8th Series, V, 4142).

⁴I, part 1, p. 88 (cf. 8th Series, I, 176); I, part 1, p. 99 (cf. 8th Series, I, 197); IV, 487 (cf. 8th Series, V, 4084).

⁵For information regarding Pennsylvania's constitutions see "Hist. of the Several Constitutions of Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Manual*, 1947-48, pp. 58-60 and entry "Constitutions" in finding list above.

⁶Certain peculiar features noticeable in the printed text of the Ninth Series appear to result from breaks made in the typed copy between manuscript volumes. See I, 451; II, 1159; III, 1991; V, 3580, and X, 8502, "End of Volume 15."

national significance, such as those related to the troubles of the 1790's which almost led to war with France, while others are trivial but amusing, such as the detailing of expenses incurred for six new hats, six new blankets, shaves, and the stabling of horses, when Cornplanter and five other chiefs visited State officials. Set down in the form of an executive blotter, or journal, these minutes record concisely and with but slight formality such things as approvals and vetoes of acts passed by the Assembly, questions referred to the Attorney General, remissions of fines, pardons granted or refused, rewards offered for the apprehension of criminals, extraditions, financial arrangements on every scale of magnitude, appointments made and resignations received, commissions issued to militia officers and justices, licenses granted to auctioneers and peddlers, lists of subscribers to banks and to bridge and turnpike companies, and occasionally short and informal speeches of the Governor. The wealth and diversity of its material will cause the Ninth Series to be much used once an index to its treasures becomes available.

Indexes to the Eighth and Ninth Series

While much work has been done to produce indexes for the two most recent series of *Pennsylvania Archives*, no such finding mediums have as yet been published. Work toward this desirable end began with the Ninth Series as early as November, 1932. During that month the genealogical unit, which in 1924 had become more or less distinct from the Archives and History Section⁷ and which was later to become a Section by itself, started preparing an index and carried the work on into 1935. In June, 1936, when two volumes of the Ninth Series had been completely indexed by such part-time effort as was possible in the genealogical unit, Dr. Garrison took over the task. At that time he had an index to the Eighth Series very near completion, and white-collar personnel was becoming available from the work-relief program of the Federal government. For a protracted period a half-dozen or more such workers were engaged in the very substantial task of indexing the ten volumes of the Ninth Series. By the time Dr. Garrison left Harrisburg at the end of 1936, he had succeeded in getting much of the index to the Eighth Series typed into printer's copy, and the rest was on ordered slips so that it was completely typed later. The disruption caused by his departure left the index to the Ninth Series incomplete and on small filing slips, arranged volume by volume, usable only with patience and great care, but in such condition that the task of completing and publishing it is far from hopeless. Even lacking an index, the chronological ar-

⁷ *Report of Supt. of Public Instruction*, 1926, 108.

rangement of the Ninth Series makes finding desired items possible to the patient and the persistent.

As has been noted, the index for the Eighth Series started by Dr. Garrison in the fall of 1933 did attain the dignity of being typed into printer's copy. An original and a carbon copy are available at the Division of Public Records and can be used by investigators. It appears likely that after the tedious process of checking each individual entry back against the printed volumes has been completed, publication will become possible. These indexes are badly needed to round out the two final series and make them generally useful.

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